

FREE POLAND

DEVOTED TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE CAUSE OF A UNITED AND INDEPENDENT
POLAND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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Poles Take Danzig

Editorial from *Washington Post*

POLISH military forces under the commander-in-chief, Gen. Joseph Haller, have reached and occupied Danzig, according to late reports. German residents have entered a protest and a German general is said to have telegraphed a protest to President Wilson. Much good it will do him!

The allies have declared that Poland is entitled to independence; that the boundaries of Poland should be in accordance with the historic boundaries of the kingdom, and that the new and free nation should have untrammelled access to the sea. These conditions can be made good only by the occupation of Danzig, a Polish port long ago robbed from the Poles by the Germans. Naturally a howl of anguish will go up from the Germans when they are required to loosen their grip on such an important place as Danzig, but they must clear out nevertheless. They have no more right to hold Danzig than to hold Rheims.

Poland's military operations are conducted with skill and full appreciation of the national rights. Like the Czecho-Slovaks, the Poles defined their just claims long years ago, and it is not new ground that they are exploiting when they fight their way back to their ancient boundaries. The developments strike some observers as novel, but they would not seem so if they had judged the map of Europe by what it was and should be and not by what Bismarck had made it.

Bismarck and the blood-and-iron Frankenstein built up by him are both in the scrap heap. The people of Europe are now free to establish their boundaries according to nationalities and to set up such governments as they please. Poland, in taking Danzig, is pursuing a course that is strictly in accord with its rights.



WITH absolute confidence in the soundness of their position, confidence based in actual knowledge of the relations between the Jews and Poles in Poland, the National Polish Department and the Polish National Defense Committee have issued to the American public a solemn denial of the stories being circulated in the American newspapers charging the Poles with conducting pogroms in Poland. Furthermore, lest their words be construed as mere temporizing instruments, they have formally proposed to the Jewish organizations in the United States that a joint Jewish-Polish mission with two unbiased American members be sent into Poland to make an official study and a public report on the facts. At the Jewish Congress which opened in Philadelphia recently, this suggestion from the Polish bodies was accepted and it is hoped that within a short time the commission will be on its way. In suggesting such a mission the Polish organizations have moved, well satisfied, that from such a study will come a unanimous report which is hoped will put a stop to the circulation of these extraordinary and malicious stories which threaten not only to create an actual condition of civil war in Poland through the possible delay of the recognition of the Polish nationality, but which, even within the United States, may create a condition dangerous to the peace of the various peoples resident in the United States.

THE resolutions adopted by the National Polish Department and Polish National Defense Committee and forwarded to the American Jewish Committee and the Zionist Organization of America, for presentation to the American Jewish Congress, when the suggestion was accepted, read as follows:

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AND THE
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Gentlemen:

Communications emanating from various sources have been in circulation in this country during the past few weeks, to the effect that pogroms have been conducted in Poland and Galicia, resulting in the massacre of Jews and in the destruction of their property.

The Polish National Department and the Polish National Defense Committee do not admit the truth of these reports, believing as they do that such practices are contrary to the traditions and inconsistent with the character of the Polish people, nor do they believe that an industrial boycott is now in force in Poland.

Speaking as representatives and in the name of the four and a half million Poles of the United States and Canada, they declare that they are unalterably opposed

to pogroms and boycotts under any circumstances whatsoever.

They firmly assert their belief in and declare their readiness to support the principle that the Jews in Poland are entitled to the same rights and protection as any other part of the people of Poland.

They stand for a united and independent Poland grounded upon the same principles of religious, political and industrial freedom as are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

They deplore the reports now in circulation, especially since they consider them to be conducive to differences such as are sought to be avoided.

They have therefore proposed to the Jews of America that a commission be constituted composed of two Jews and two Poles of the United States and two representative Americans, who are neither Jews nor Poles, for the purpose of investigating the actual conditions in Poland affecting the Jews and of making a public report of their finding.

UNFORTUNATELY in the present emergency Jewish leaders in various parts of the country have used the stories of pogroms as propaganda material. In New York, Chicago, Buffalo, even in the city of Washington, lurid appeals have been made in circulars and in public addresses, asking money from American as well as Jewish people, in which the pogroms in Poland have been set forth as actual and well-substantiated happenings. In addition Jewish mass meetings have been held in various parts of the country at which resolutions have been adopted calling on the President and on the Allied powers to withhold from the Polish people recognition of their nationality because of these pogroms, and suggesting that guarantees, pledges, and other commitments be made. It is not surprising that among the Poles there has arisen a feeling that the Jewish people are engaged in activities, which, designedly or not, may block the creation of a united and independent Poland. Inasmuch as a weak Poland of necessity will mean a Poland subservient to either Germany or Russia, it is hardly to be wondered that the Poles have interpreted this as new evidence of the existence of German propaganda.

In this thought they have been upheld by certain reputable newspaper organs which have advised the American people that these stories were coming mainly from German sources, and should be read at least with caution. The New York *Evening Post* declared that Germany of course would be the gainer if it could be shown that riots and disorder followed the victory of the Allied powers, and that the plan of settlement as formulated by President Wilson was leading to confusion.

The Hour of Restitution

Gdansk---A Polish Necessity

In this issue are published two articles of timely interest. One, by the eminent French journalist, Jean Herbet, is appropriately entitled "The Hour of Restitution." He maintains that the return of Prussian Poland to a reunited Poland is but the recognition of the rights of the majority of people inhabiting Prussian Poland. Maryan Seyda, who spent most of his life in Prussian Poland, where he published a Polish daily newspaper, in which he fought the Prussians for years, is the author of the second article, "Gdansk—A Polish Necessity," wherein he furnishes interesting statistics on Gdansk and Prussian Poland.—Editor.

All of "German Poland" together with Gdansk must be returned to Poland. Alsace-Lorraine must again become and remain a part of France. Why these stolen territories, for so many years ground under the Prussian boot, must be returned to their rightful owners is pictured vividly in an article in the *Paris Temps* by Jean Herbet.

The writer begins with the statement that the Germans were reluctant in accepting peace, though defeat stared them in the face for some time, because they realized that the acceptance of the terms dictated by the United States and the Allies and the conscientious fulfillment of them by the Germans, meant the destruction for all time of Prussian ambitions to rule Europe and the world.

"The Prussians," he wrote, "have lost all hope of retaining any influence over Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg. . . . But when it comes to Poland Berlin is still very active. The Prussian press is still full of various propositions as to what should be done with Poland. Though these articles appear in various papers, they are all alike.

"We well understand why the Prussians do not want to give way when it comes to Poland and that is why we too are the more determined not to alter our course. When you touch upon the question of Poland you touch upon the very foundations of the Prussian system. If you want to convince yourself of this fact just glance at the map made by the Germans themselves, the map published in Berlin and showing the elections to the German parliament.

"Despite the governmental pressure exercised to prejudice the results of the elections, the Polish districts cover a large territory cut only in a few small sections. This territory stretches to the south as far as the

Austrian boundary, taking in also the Silesian coal fields. In the center it reaches the old Russian boundary, and to a point 50 kilometers east of Frankfort on the Oder. On the north it reaches the Baltic, bordering on Gdansk (Danzig). Silesia is the country conquered by Frederic II, who thereby violated the treaty signed by his father. The rest of the territory constitutes the pay which the Prussian kings received for the part they played in murdering Poland. All this territory they have used as clay out of which they made for themselves a new country which they annexed to Prussia under one ruler.

"Even until recently, though they realized that defeat was certain, the Berlin government did not expect the Poles would dare to attempt to regain the territory. It seemed to them these "annexations" achieved so long ago were as if sanctified, though even today the German government's wise men when speaking of Lorraine contend that they but rest upon the privileges granted them at the time of Louis, the son of Charles the Great. But, despite their expectations, the revindication of Poland came about without any delay."

The writer then quotes the proclamations issued by Polish political leaders in all sections of Poland and their conferences at Warsaw "over the problems of national reconstruction." "All this," Herbet continues, "though it was to be foreseen, apparently threw the Germans into a spell of consternation and madness."

"And then we see in the press on the other side of the Rhine—and in the progressive "Berliner Tageblatt," which claims to be expressive of the rights of the people—a concentrated attack created at a command given from above. All those elaborations, wherein German official statistics are used extensively, had for their purpose the development of one and the same theory: that the Polish provinces held by Prussia have a considerable German minority, and, therefore, the induction of these Germans into Poland would create a new element of war. And did not President Wilson state that new elements of war are not to be created?

"Thus sustaining the principle that it would be a fallacy to uphold the rights of the Polish majority as against the German minority, the German newspapers prudently refrain from explaining why it would not be dangerous to recognize the rights of the minority to the detriment of the majority. They carefully refrain likewise from discussing another theme, one that is becoming very urgent and which fronts you when you enter upon the study of statistics relating to Prussian Poland.

"Official documents show that in consequence of five 'colonization' statutes passed in the period between 1886 and 1913, the German government spent 550,000,000 marks in the endeavor to colonize these Polish provinces in Prussia with Germans. The statute of 1908 had given the Government even the right of disappropriating the Polish residents. The colonization commission in that manner acquired over 150,000 hectares of land since 1915. About two thirds of the colonists settled upon this land by the German government, are from beyond the provinces on which they were settled, some even from beyond the country itself. Does the Berlin government and its newspapers imagine that this tremendous work of disappropriation has now created a just claim for Prussia?

"No! There can not be a law against a law!

"Such a restitution is necessary if the Polish state is to be made true, sturdy and whole, but such a restitution is also necessary if we are to have a real guarantee of peace. It will destroy the Prussian system on the theory that wrong makes right."

GDANSK—A POLISH NECESSITY

In answer to the claims made by the Germans relative to Poland and especially the port of Gdansk, Maryan Seyda, member of the Polish National Committee, issued on behalf of the Committee a statement, which received wide circulation especially in the French press. The statement is of especial interest, the more so at this moment, for it shows clearly why "German Poland" together with Gdansk should be restored to a reunited and independent Poland. Mr. Seyda's words carry more weight because, as the author stated at the outset, "they are based on Prussian statistics, as they are to be found

even in their elementary school text books, a source decidedly anti-Polish." The statement follows:

"In the Province of Poznanie (Posen) the Poles have a decided majority in thirty-three out of forty-two counties and in three counties the Poles constitute almost one-half. In western Prussia, leaving aside the three German counties situated *dehors du terrain sur lequel se dervate le butte Pologne-Allemande*, the Poles have a majority in fourteen out of twenty-six counties and almost one-half in four counties. In the regency of Olsztyn in Eastern Prussia the Poles have a majority in eight out of ten counties; in upper Silesia they have a majority in eighteen out of twenty-six counties, and almost one-half in one county. In all of German-Poland the Poles constitute a majority in seventy-three out of one hundred and seven counties and almost one-half in eight counties. In thirty-five counties the Poles constitute over eighty per cent, and in eleven counties over ninety per cent. These figures show beyond dispute that this country is '*incontestablement Polonais*.'

"While it is true that to a certain degree the territory surrounding the outlet of the Wisla (Vistula) was forcibly Germanized by the Prussian Knights and later by the Prussians, it is likewise true that even Gdansk (Danzig), during the time of the Polish Commonwealth, regarded itself as unreservedly Polish, and when during the second partition of Poland it was annexed to Prussia, the populace of Gdansk offered armed, though unsuccessful resistance to the Prussian army. Gdansk is the port of the Wisla, a natural Polish river. Without Gdansk Poland would be suffocated. There is proof of the fact in Polish records dating as far back as the 17th century, showing that in that time, when Gdansk was a Polish port its exports showed in one year 289,200 tons of grain alone, whereas, in the period of 1890-1900, when Gdansk was in Prussian possession, its exports of grain reached but 100,898 tons. Without Gdansk as its own port, Poland cannot exist as an independent commonwealth. Without Gdansk, Poland would always be dependent upon Germany, and this is the very thing that the Germans desire.

"The interests of the Allies, however, run in a different direction, for they require that Poland must constitute a strong anti-German

wall and in order to attain this strength, Poland must have on the one side the entire German-Poland with its coast line and on the other it must be closely allied with an absolutely independent Czecho-Slovakia, a strengthened Rumania, and an absolutely independent Jugoslavia. This is the more necessary, because the Germans in Austria will always constitute the dangerous remnants of the Austrian ruins. These Germans may be restrained at the present time from joining Germany, but sooner or later they will form such an association for not only are they Germans to the core, but most of them are also pan-Germanists. Bearing in mind this future course of events the Allies are arranging all of the dis-annexations from Germany, made to the benefit of France, Poland, and Denmark, the more decisively, thus placing the German element within its natural boundary lines, thus preventing Prussia from attempting any further conquests and causing future world wars.

A FEW SKETCHES FROM THE POLISH ARMY

WLADYSLAW RAKOWSKI, who today is but thirty years of age, came to America as a boy and settled in Hammond, Ind., where he worked in a local steel mill. Just as soon as the war broke out Rakowski had but one ambition—to reach the other side of the Atlantic and help fight the Hun. A few months later he gathered together his savings and spent them on transportation to Russian Poland, where he joined the Polish legion under Garszynski, who fought on the Russian side against the Germans. Rakowski saw continuous fighting almost from the time he reached Russian Poland. He participated in the entire eastern campaign. In the engagement near Brest-Litovsk, Rakowski was wounded seriously by shrapnel. For two weeks he remained without medical attention and gangrene developed as a result of which he lost his left leg. This, however, did not keep him back from further fighting. With the use of a poorly constructed artificial limb he returned to the front shortly after leaving the hospital, and remained in action even after the Bolsheviks betrayed Russia to Germany, joining the Polish forces operating near Minsk. Finally he made his way out of Russia by way of the Murman coast and joined the Polish army in France. While on the eastern front

Rakowski was twice decorated for bravery in action and was advanced to the rank of first lieutenant. The leaders of the Polish army testify to the fact that Rakowski, who is outfitted now with an American artificial limb of the best make, makes an excellent soldier despite his physical handicap.

WLODZIMIERZ SZYDLOWSKI is rounding out his seventeenth year. In experience he is an old man, for he has already seen over three years' of war and on three different occasions was decorated for bravery.

Szydlowski lived with his parents in Lublin, Poland. When the Austro-German forces compelled the Russian army to retreat, the Russians drove ahead of them a large part of the civilian population of Lublin, and in this unfortunate crowd were the Szydlowskis. After a few days young Szydlowski became separated from his parents. At his own request he was taken into the army and remained with the Russian forces as long as there was action on the eastern front. When Szydlowski heard of the formation of the Polish army in France he decided to make his way by the eastern route to France and there join his compatriots. All alone he made his way through the whole of Siberia. When he reached Vladyvostok he ascertained that it was next to the impossible for him to get any further. Great as was his disappointment he did not swerve from his original plan. He made his way back over Siberia and western Russia until he reached the Murman coast. He secured passage on a French steamer, thus getting to France, where he joined the Polish army ten weeks ago.

Rakowski and Szydlowski were in the same military camp in France. In another Polish army camp I found a Antoni Lukaszewski who came to the Polish army from the Polish colony in Brazil. Lukaszewski did not come alone. With him came and joined the army also, his son and son-in-law. With the son-in-law came his wife, the oldest daughter of Lukaszewski, and their little baby boy. This brave woman, there are none braver, did not dissuade her husband from joining the Polish army; she encouraged him instead. She came with him, secured work near the camp at Sille le Gillaume, thus earning enough for the support of herself and the little boy for whom she made a uniform similar to the one in which his father and the two Lukaszewski's gave battle to the Hun.

AMONG the many unfortunates who were forced into the German army were three brothers from Poznan (Posen). Little did these men realize that before the war would end they would furnish a theme for a most wonderful story. They found themselves each in a separate division and did not hear from one another from the time they were taken into the army until they met in the Polish army camp. Then as they told one another of their experiences they found that as if by magic, while in the German army they were directed by the same impulse to desert that army. At the very first opportunity they surrendered to the "enemy" on the French front. All true Polish hearts beat alike and that is why these three brothers found themselves in the Polish army shortly after it was organized. I talked to each of the three men and there can be no finer soldiers. They, like thousands of others who were in the Austro-German armies previously, are in the Polish ranks under assumed names in order to protect their families in "German" Poland.

—J. A. W.

RECONSTITUTION OF POLAND

UNDER the caption, "Conditions of Peace with Germany," the *New York Journal of Commerce*, on November 29, carried the following editorial comment:

What may be called the expert opinion of Allied countries formulated as the chief demands to be enforced against Germany—that is, the demands that directly affect Germany's territorial status—these three: The restitution of Slesvig to Denmark, of Alsace-Lorraine to France with the frontiers set by the Treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814, and the reconstitution of Poland as before the partition of 1772. The statements made by responsible statesmen in the Allied countries have been somewhat less precise, leaving both the question of the Franco-German frontier and that of the new Poland for future determination. There was, however, no desire to proceed further with the dismemberment of Germany; respect for the integrity of the States composing it and for their institutions and legislation, being always regarded as the basis of a peace settlement.

Incidentally, it may be remarked, that the retrocession of Slesvig almost necessarily carries with it the neutralization of the Kiel Canal. More important than all, it must be remembered that it was under the first partition of Poland in 1772 that Prussia received the maritime palatinate, minus Danzig; the palatinate of Kulm minus Thorn, Great Poland, as far as the Nitza, and the palatinates of Marienburg and Ermland. It was only under the second partition, in 1793, that Prussia got Dobrzyn,

Kujavia and the greater part of Great Poland, with Thorn and Danzig. In other words, the restoration of the Poland of 1772 means the carving of a very substantial slice of territory out of what is known as Germany. It may confidently be predicted that the restoration of Russian and Austrian Poland will be effected with infinitely less friction and protest than will attach to the wrenching from Prussia of the spoil taken by Frederic the Great.

POLES CAPTURE LEMBERG

Order prevails in Posnania where the Poles are conducting the administration in Posen and other towns. In the Russian portion, which is known as the Kingdom, and includes the capital, Warsaw, there is order at the moment, but the government is dangerously close to socialistic extremes of bolshevism.

In Galicia there is no government. Cracow is without defense against anarchy and pillage. Only one entire Polish regiment has managed as yet to return. It seized a train somewhere in Russia, fought its way back to Jargoslav. Armed Boy Scouts have given remarkable protection to Cracow. Pryzemys is intact and uninjured by the siege, the effects of which were confined to the fortifications. The fights between the Poles and the Ruthenians were small affairs.

Calm prevails in Lemberg, the Poles having captured the city, ending a remarkable intrigue, half German and half bolshevik, which precipitated fighting between the Ruthenians and the Poles. Austria had intended to put Lemberg at the mercy of the Ruthenians, who were supported by non-descript peoples calling themselves Ukrainians. Five or six thousand Ruthenians who had been concentrated against Lemberg seized the public buildings on November 5, except railway station. Documents subsequently captured show the extent of German intrigues to keep the Poles out of Lemberg, but a remarkable thing happened. Four boys attacked a Ruthenian soldier with their fists, captured his motor car, drove to the munition depot, treated the Ruthenian sentry the same way, and seized a stock of revolvers and made off. Other boys joined them until 64 boys, mostly 15 and 16 years old, had barricaded themselves in the school-house, also making raids on the depots and seizing weapons. They made a desperate fight and established other sentries until 200 boys sallied out into the streets, women clothed as soldiers joining them. The Ruthenian army was an undisciplined mob and got worse in the fighting which spread all over the city until the boys scored their first big victory by capturing machine guns from the bolshevik wing of the Ruthenians. Where the Ruthenians were in control there was much cruelty. The boys continued to capture stores and arms and to extend their control, finally capturing the postoffice. The fighting lasted many days, being sometimes severe in the streets. November 21, 100 Polish soldiers arrived, expelled the Ruthenians from the citadel and compelled their final retreat.—J. M. Jeffries, in *London Mail*.

Poland's Foreign Trade

A REUNITED and independent Poland, a Poland consisting of all Polish territories until recently controlled by Germany, Russia and Austria, with her own access to the sea through the port of Gdansk, will offer most alluring opportunities to all interested in foreign trade. A Poland thus reunited will cover a territory larger than that of Germany and with a population of over 30,000,000. Statistics relating to Poland's foreign trade should therefore be both interesting and valuable to our merchants and manufacturers dealing in export trade. It is with this object in view that we quote herewith the statistics prepared by Arthur E. Gurney, an architect now resident in London, who spent many years of his life in Poland and is thoroughly acquainted with the subject before us.

Gdansk—The Polish Seaport

The natural gateway for commercial relations with Poland is Gdansk (Danzig); and when the intentions of the Entente and the United States regarding Poland materialize, this ancient Polish seaport will regain the predominating position which it formerly held among the ports of the Baltic Sea. It is situated at the mouth of the Vistula, a magnificent natural highway for shipping, which, in its course of some 650 miles, traverses the Polish territories in almost their entire extent from south to north. In ancient times Gdansk was one of the four chief towns of the Hanseatic League, and it has been called the "granary of Europe." Polish products intended for export were borne to this city on the waters of the Vistula, and by the same route Poland's extensive imports from England, Sweden, and Holland entered, and were distributed over, the Polish territories. Gdansk did an immense trade with the old English ports of Boston, Wisbech, and King's Lynn. In the sixteenth century its ships were to be seen in Portuguese and Italian harbors, and they sailed even to Brazil.

Notwithstanding the partitions of Poland, its dismembered territories were, up to the Treaty of Vienna, united by the most intimate commercial relations. To safeguard the interests of the inhabitants of those areas special treaties were signed in 1815 between Austria and Russia, on the one hand, and Prussia and Russia on the other. Their wording was identical, and provided that the inhabitants of the territories forming part of the Polish State in 1772 should have the unhindered use "in their entire extent right down to the sea" of the watercourses traversing those territories. The three Powers further bound themselves by the treaties "to permit, in future and for all times, an absolutely unlimited exchange of all products of the soil and industries of the Polish provinces." These and other privileges thus solemnly guaranteed to the Poles were gradually curtailed by the partitioning

Powers, who in subsequent treaties omitted to mention and finally abolished them, notwithstanding the most energetic protests of the Poles.

The Polish territories were thus gradually drawn completely into the economic systems of the Sovereign States by which they had been annexed. Being framed for the benefit of the ruling nationalities, these systems did not show much consideration for Polish interests. The introduction of high import dues rendered the exchange of goods with foreign countries increasingly difficult and made the Poles more and more dependent on the Sovereign States. Thus in the case of the Kingdom transactions with Russia represented of late years two and a half times the value of those with foreign countries.

The Volume of Poland's Trade

In the absence of separate statistics it is, of course, impossible except in a very few instances to give absolutely correct figures on Poland's trade with other countries. The subject has, however, been carefully studied by eminent Polish authorities, and the figures given below are based on the results of their labors. They are as nearly accurate as is possible under the circumstances, and rather represent too modest than excessive estimates.

The Kingdom presented the least difficulties in obtaining approximate figures, as it was possible to utilize the returns of the custom-houses through which all goods entering or leaving Poland had to pass. They were 79 in number, 18 situated on the Austrian and 61 on the Prussian frontier. Two of the latter, Vierzbolovo and Graievo, were used almost exclusively by goods consigned to or exported by Russia; the destination or origin of the majority of goods passing through the remaining custom-houses were Polish. In 1911 the value of the goods which passed through the custom-houses of the Kingdom amounted to \$388,311,950.00, an increase of 12.4 per cent on the preceding year. Exports represented the sum of \$146,045,365.00, or 37.1 per cent of the total; and imports \$24,226,585.00. Approximately one-half of the goods imported were destined for Poland; the rest passed in transit to Russia.

The unsatisfactory state of Galicia's commerce has for many years been a source of anxiety to the inhabitants of that province. But without reliable data no amelioration was possible, and in 1909 the Galician Diet passed a measure decreeing the compilation of detailed statistics on all the imports and exports of the province. While the bill was yet under discussion in the Diet the representatives of Austrian industry, knowing that its enactment would inevitably deprive them of a handy and profitable market, protested vigorously to the central authorities in Vienna against allowing it to become law, with the result that the Austrian Government refused its sanction, and the measure had to be abandoned. Figures relating to Galicia's exports in most instances represent deductions from a comparison of available information on production and consumption, based on market returns and similar data. With few exceptions there is no means

of gauging Galicia's imports, and figures on these are more or less guesswork.

The figures relating to the external commercial relations of the Polish territories under Prussian rule are based on statistics concerning the transport of goods by rail and water. These have been amplified by information derived from customs returns, and checked by comparison with figures on production and consumption in the said territories.

Exports

Russian Poland exported manufactured products, for which there was a great demand in Russia; and foodstuffs, of which large quantities were annually sent abroad. The former included machinery and plants of various descriptions, furniture, woollen and cotton goods, and alcoholic beverages—porter, beer, liqueurs and other spirits. In 1912 the Kingdom exported nearly 31 million gallons of spirits. The country annually exported large quantities of bran to Germany, the average for the years 1901-10 being 267,935 tons. In 1910 it exported 32,600 tons of wheat, 53,680 tons of barley, and over 130,000 tons of potatoes. During 1909-11 the average annual exports included 69,000 tons of sugar—over 3,200 tons of which were consigned to England; 81,900 pigs; milk and butter for a net sum of \$580,000.00; geese for \$2,110,000.00 net, and eggs for \$3,900,000.00. The exports of meat and meat products realized the net sum of \$158,000.00.

For a proper appreciation of the possibilities of commercial relations with Poland, it is necessary to bear in mind that a variety of unfavorable conditions combined, hitherto, enormously to reduce the agricultural and industrial output of the Kingdom. A comparison of the quantities of various products yielded by the acre in this—the largest—portion of the Polish territories, with those obtained in the Polish areas under Prussian rule, will show how greatly Poland's exports of these products may be expected to increase when the Poles take the administration of the country into their own hands.

Whereas in 1912 the yield per acre of wheat was only 3.16 tons in the Kingdom, it amounted to 5.72 tons in the Prussian districts. The acre of oats yielded 2.43 tons in the former and 5.45 in the latter areas; that of barley, 3.16 against 5.79; and the acre of potatoes, 23.35 tons in the former against 45.45 in the latter.

The Polish soil is considered by experts especially suitable for growing fruit—particularly apples of the highest qualities—and no doubt Polish fruit will in the future find its way to foreign markets in constantly increasing quantities.

A large proportion of the meat products exported consisted of bacon, but the quantities of this commodity so far exported represented only a fraction of those which will be available in the future, as bacon curing had only been taken up quite recently in Poland. Before the war there were only two or three small bacon factories in the whole Kingdom. These had been created and were being run on co-operative lines, with the assistance of Danish experts, by small groups of landowners and peasant farmers, who realized their possibilities. The entire output went by contract to Danish dealers for shipment to England. As these

factories had proved highly profitable, the erection and equipment of several others was contemplated before the war. The fact that in 1912 the number of pigs reared in the Kingdom was only 5.6 per 100 of the population, whereas the average for the territories under Prussian rule was 53.3, will give some indication of the important part Poland could play in supplying other countries with bacon.

Galicia's exports consist chiefly of natural products and products of the soil—the principal items being oil, salt, timber, flax and hemp—and farm and dairy produce of every description. The principal customer for the former was Germany, for the latter Vienna. In 1911 Galicia supplied the Vienna markets with 31,000 head of cattle, 532,000 pigs, and over 1,000,000 fowls. The total value of the pigs exported annually by this province is estimated at \$20,000,000.00, and that of its exports of cattle at \$4,200,000.00; while its annual exports of eggs represent the sum of \$8,400,000.00.

Large quantities of timber for building and other purposes annually make their way down the Vistula. In 1913 Galicia's exports of baulk timber were assessed at \$12,600,000.00, and those of sawn timber at \$2,700,000.00. The quantity of burning oil and its various by-products exported by Galicia amounted in 1912 to 648,726 tons, for which a sum of \$14,574,000.00 was obtained. Of this total 56,797 tons were shipped to England, while Germany acquired 195,080 tons. In 1913 Galicia exported 74,260 tons of salt, realizing the sum of \$1,680,000.00.

The Polish territories now forming provinces of Prussia fall into two distinct areas, from the commercial and industrial point of view. For whereas Poznan together with East and West Prussia are predominantly agricultural provinces, Polish Silesia is an almost purely industrial area, whose extremely dense population is dependent for its food supply mainly on the other provinces. And these are in a position not only to supply all their own and Silesia's requirements in that respect, but also in addition to export great quantities of agricultural products. With the exception of rye—almost the entire exports of which go to Germany and the Kingdom—the greater part of the surplus of cereals is consigned to foreign countries by way of Gdansk and Koenigsberg.

The average annual exports of the Duchy of Poznan alone for 1906-8 amounted to 232,717 tons of rye, 17,887 tons of wheat, 90,868 tons of barley, and 52,261 tons of oats. This and the other Polish provinces belonging to Prussia also annually exported large quantities of potatoes. The annual exports of sugar, which was consigned chiefly to Holland and England, amounted to about 450,000 tons, and those of alcohol to about 20,000,000 imperial gallons.

Live stock formed another important item in the exports of these provinces, for, although large numbers of animals were annually imported from Russia, exports in this have always greatly exceeded imports. In 1900 the surplus was as follows: Horses, 41,400; cattle, 407,400; pigs, 1,250,400; poultry, 3,468,900.

The only Silesian export of interest to this country is zinc. The province's output of this product amounted to about 17 per cent of the world's production, and large quantities were annually consigned not

only to the western German provinces, but to France and England as well.

Imports

All the Polish territories are large purchasers of manufactured goods. Galicia, possessing but few industries of its own, was obliged to satisfy almost all its requirements in that respect by importation, and it was the same with the Polish provinces in German possession. For even Silesia, although an almost purely industrial area, has not developed to any considerable extent any other industries than those connected in some form or other with mining. The industries existing in the other provinces were almost exclusively such as are connected with agriculture.

Among the imports of the Kingdom raw wool and cotton take first place. The average quantities of the former, imported annually during 1909-11, were equivalent to \$20,355,000.00, and those of the latter only slightly less. In addition to these, cotton and woollen goods for a sum of \$6,330,000.00 and worsted for \$11,390,000.00 were annually imported. Imports of jute annually amounted to \$2,375,000.00.

The annual average during the same period for imports of cutlery and tools was \$477,500.00, of ironmongery \$2,585,000.00, machinery \$15,668,000.00 (including agricultural machinery for the sum of \$1,650,000.00). The annual imports of bicycles, motor and other vehicles, and musical instruments represented the sum of \$6,375,000.00.

The country also imported large quantities of paper, and pulp for its manufacture. The latter was obtained from Finland, as also were the coarser varieties of the former; while the higher qualities were imported from countries outside the Russian Empire, and averaged annually about \$790,000.00.

Among Galicia's imports textile fabrics are the most important item. Before the war these annually represented a sum of nearly \$50,000,000.00, while leather and leather goods came next with nearly \$10,000,000.00. Imports of machinery and tools annually amounted to about \$4,580,000.00, and those of paper and paper goods to approximately \$3,125,000.00.

Future Prospects

There can be no doubt that the goods imported by the Polish territories before the war will be even more in demand there after peace is restored. In certain parts (especially the area hitherto designated "Russian") there will, in addition, be an enormous demand for goods which were not so much in request before.

One of the most urgent tasks awaiting the country is the rebuilding of its towns and villages, great numbers of which have been completely destroyed, and the reinstatement of its industries. Nearly all those industrial establishments which escaped destruction have been dismantled, and, as most of the industries met with in other countries existed also in the Kingdom, their reinstatement will involve the acquisition of every conceivable kind of machinery, plant, and equipment.

Every variety of building material will also be in great demand, as well as gas and electric fittings, door and window furniture, and all the various odds and

ends required in the construction and equipment of every known variety of building.

To insure success it is absolutely essential that those wishing to deal with Poland should make a careful study of the requirements and tastes of their prospective customers, which are in most cases dictated by local conditions. In consequence of the high customs duties levied in the past, the Poles are used to paying high prices for imported goods. When cost, freight, duty and incidental charges are added together, a slight increase in the first named frequently does not make much difference, if the quality of the goods warrants the outlay.

Price lists and similar literature should be in Polish, and weights and measures given in the metric system. Prices should be quoted c. i. f., and include cost of packing. The importer then only has to add the amount of customs charges to ascertain the cost of the goods. Where direct dealings with provincial tradesmen are contemplated, these charges should also be included, and as soon as exchange rates have been fixed prices should in all cases be quoted in Polish currency. The Poles are very susceptible to such marks of consideration.

Credit is another important factor in dealings with Poland, as Polish commerce has always to a great extent been dependent on it. Merchants did not, as a rule, work with a large capital, besides which they had to discharge heavy import duties before they could obtain the goods. Therefore they required time to dispose of a portion of these before being called on to pay for them. They would, however, frequently agree to pay a part of the value—up to one-third—with order or against bill of lading. The length of credit must, of course, depend to a great extent on the nature of the goods, but in most cases the period desired was three months.

Poland has suffered most severely from the war, and its commerce has been hit particularly hard. Credit will consequently be of still greater importance after the war than it has ever been before. It should therefore be extended on as generous a scale as possible, at least until the country has had time to recuperate.

There are certain facts bearing on Poland's future trade which must be borne in mind. The right to independence of certain Polish territories having been acknowledged by all the belligerent States, no Power would dare absolutely to annul the concessions such recognition implies. It would be too dangerous an experiment. Whatever the issue of the war, no Power can force the future Polish State to trade only with certain specified countries, and it will always afford extensive opportunities to American and Allied trade. Given equal facilities, the Poles will always deal with America and the Allies rather than Germany, which not only never possessed their confidence or sympathy, but has earned their undying hatred. America and the Allies, on the contrary, have always held an exalted position in the esteem and sympathies of the Poles. Of course sympathetic considerations are not the fundamental condition of profitable business relations, but where the material advantages offered are equal such considerations generally do act as the deciding factor. In Polish business relations they have always played a much more important part than in those of any other Western European country.

RECOGNITION OF THE POLISH ARMY

The recognition of the Polish Army in France as a co-belligerent and allied force by the Governments of the Entente, was made a matter of great rejoicing by the Polish people throughout the world.

This official recognition, following the appointment of General Josef Haller, as Commander-in-Chief by the National Polish Committee at Paris, gives to the army a distinct standing. Like all other armies, the mighty forces of America included, it is subject to the direction of General Foch, but its allegiance is primarily to the National Polish Committee, just as other armies owe their allegiance to their regular government.

The recognition of the American government, given on November 1, 1918, to Mr. Roman Dmowski, during the absence of Mr. Paderewski, was equally happy. The communication from Mr. Lansing read as follows:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of October 18 and October 25, requesting the Government of the United States to associate itself with the Government of France and Great Britain by recognizing the Polish Army, under the supreme political authority of the Polish National Committee, as autonomous, allied and co-belligerent.

In reply I beg to inform you that the Government of the United States has not been unmindful of the zeal and tenacity with which the Polish National Committee has prosecuted the task of marshalling its fellow-countrymen in a supreme military effort to free Poland from its present oppressors.

This Government's position with respect to the Polish cause and the Polish people could hardly be more clearly defined than was outlined by the President in his address before the Congress of January 8, 1918. Therefore, feeling as it does a deep sympathy for the Polish people and viewing with gratification the progress of the Polish cause, this Government experiences a feeling of genuine satisfaction in being able to comply with your request by recognizing the Polish Army, under the supreme political authority of the Polish National Committee, as autonomous and co-belligerent.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

Mr. Balfour at London, in making the English recognition known to the representative of the National Polish Committee in London, seized the occasion to also make a new and happy declaration with regard to England's intentions towards Poland.

"I have the honor," he wrote, "to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 25th instant, in which you announce the creation of a single Polish National Army, and the appointment by the Polish National Committee of Gen. Joseph Haller as its commander-in-chief. At the same time you request His Majesty's Government to recognize Polish forces engaged in fighting the Central Powers as possessing status of a co-belligerent army. I have the honor to state that His Majesty's Government gladly accedes to this request and henceforth the Polish Army shall be recognized as autonomous, allied and co-belligerent.

"I take this opportunity of informing you that His Majesty's Government have not failed to follow with interest and appreciation the unremitting efforts which the Polish National Committee has made since its recognition by the Allied countries in fortifying its compatriots throughout the world in their resistance to the Central Powers and to all compromise with them in the solution of the Polish question. The confidence of His Majesty's Government in the loyalty of the committee to the Allied countries remains unshaken.

"His Majesty's Government has repeatedly announced its desire to see the creation of a united and independent Polish State, and was glad to join in the declaration by the great powers at Versailles on June 3, 1918, that the creation of such a state with free access to the sea constitutes one of the conditions of a solid and just peace. I need hardly assure you that the sympathies of this country have been, and are, with the people of Poland of whatever politic, class or creed, in all the sufferings to which they have been subjected during the war. It admires their firm refusal to allow Germany and Austria-Hungary to dictate the future status and boundaries of their country and it looks forward to a time when the present provisional arrangements will come to an end, and a Poland, free and united, will shape its own constitution according to the wishes of its people. That this happy moment may be near at hand is the most earnest wish of His Majesty's Government."

Baron Sonino, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a letter to the Polish National Committee, also recognized the Polish troops, fighting on the side of the Allies as a single, autonomous, allied and co-belligerent Polish Army.

On October 21st, General Haller, as Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army in France, with a jurisdiction which also reaches the Polish Army in Russia and Siberia, issued his first General Order which reads as follows:

PARIS, October 21, 1918.

From General Archinard, No. 15081, to Polish Military Commission.

Order of the day—General Haller.

Please communicate to commanders of Polish units placed under your orders the following order of the day:

I have assumed today the commandship in chief of all Polish Army, being appointed to this post by the Polish National Committee, which the Allied powers have recognized as exercising the supreme authority over the Polish armed forces.

Soldiers! From this day on, all Polish units, wherever they will be constituted in order to combat against the invaders, for the independence and unification of our country, will be part of a single autonomous, allied Polish Army and will be placed under the Polish Commander-in-Chief.

After 150 years of bondage, Poland is resuming her place among free nations. Her banners are waving proudly on the battlefields of the world war, but our towns and villages are still in the hands of Germans. Poland will not finally wrench apart the shackles which bind her until Germany and Austria are vanquished. It is by force of arms that we must liberate Warsaw, Cracow, Vilno and Lwow, and regain Poznan and Gdansk.

Although the foe is powerful, our victory is assured. Behind us we have right, and also might in the armed forces of the great allied nations, which are all following a single plan. The Polish Army will fight on the Western Front, where victory is being decided, and also on the Eastern Front, where it will, victoriously, enter Poland to stay.

Soldiers! In fighting beside free peoples, you will fulfill the sacred duty of all Poles, who in struggling for the independence of their country have always, at the same time, fought for the universal liberty.

Poles from free America, who, faithful to the ideals of Kosciuszko, have come to France! You will all enter the conflict jointly with your fellow countrymen from all Polish lands, under the supreme command of General Foch, the glorious generalissimo of the Allied armies. Like the Polish Army under Napoleon, you have fought valiantly on the Marne, thus cementing in the heat of the battles our traditional alliance with France. Polish soldiers in the East, often left to yourself in difficult and disheartening conditions! It is of you that I am thinking with the deepest concern, but also with pride, for in spite of the most cruel trials your morale has never weakened. Soldiers of the Carpathians, soldiers of Pilsudski, soldiers of the Polish Army Corps (in Russia), and you former soldiers of foreign armies who are scattered throughout the immense expanse of Russia and of Siberia, you will all form numerous and well-disciplined regiments, and you will bring to Poland, on the point of your bayonets, unity and liberty. All good Poles will rally to the troops which, under the Polish banner, the White Eagle, will fight the Germans. No one has the right to avoid this duty. Poles owe their lives to Poland. Wherever recruiting commissions have not yet been organized, commanders of troops will use all means in their power to increase their numbers. A strong and well-disciplined army will be the best guarantee of an

independent Poland. Soldiers! May the ancient Polish battle-cry, "God and County!" lead you into the battle and final victory.

To be read before all detachments of the Polish Army.

I hereby order all commanders of Polish units dispersed throughout Russia and Siberia to transmit to me, through their superior officers, the most precise data relating to each detachment, viz., the number of detachments, the strength of the units, and the names of the commanders.

(Signed) GENERAL JOZEF HALLER,
Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army.

I should be greatly obliged to you if you will kindly furnish me with the information requested above, through the intermediary of the high commissioner of the French Government at Vladivostok.

(Signed) GENERAL JOZEF HALLER.

LODGE FAVORS A GREATER POLAND

At a victory celebration held in Boston on November 12, United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge urged the restoration of ancient Poland to form a barrier state between Russia and Germany and extending to the shores of the Baltic.

"Enough territory," Senator Lodge said, "should be taken from Germany to make a powerful Polish state. Then it would matter little what kind of a government was finally set up in Germany. It would be powerless to repeat the crimes of the Hohenzollerns. The German colonies ought not to be returned to Germany. She should be stripped of her power so that she will never again be able to plunge the world into war."

SOME DAILY SIDELIGHTS

A new world is being hammered out on the forges of God.

Thus, today, among other items obscured by the greater news, we read that Colonel Hurban, a leader in far-away Tokio of those rebellious Austrian Slavs who deserted the Hapsburg army and are fighting the tyrant to free their homelands from his rule, who are straddling the railway in Siberia and curbing the Bolshevik-German allies, writes to Professor T. G. Masaryk in Washington concerning the future of Bohemia. And we read that Colonel Joseph Haller, of the Polish Brigade, which also is fighting militarism, to restore Poland to freedom, and which temporarily has withdrawn into Bessarabia as a rallying center far from hostile influences for its countrymen, writes about the future of Poland to Ignace Paderewski, also in Washington. Masaryk, a teacher of youth, and Paderewski, a genius of music! These are the leaders of peoples who are busily ripping the stitches of that patchwork empire of the Hapsburgs which tomorrow will be only a name in history.—N. Y. World.

Poland at the Baltic

Frank H. Simonds, in the New York Tribune

The announcement of the occupation of Danzig by Polish troops marks the most interesting and important step in the creation of a new Poland or, more properly, the reconstruction of one of the oldest and bravest of nations of Europe. To a free Poland, to a truly independent and permanent state, an outlet upon the Baltic is all-important; without it Poland would remain an economic vassal of Germany, as the Germans planned at the Brest-Litovsk congress.

Nowhere in all the map-making of the new Europe are the difficulties to be encountered so great as in the case of Poland. The old nation was destroyed to make possible the realization of the dreams of three great powers. Prussia sought to unite her East Prussian province with the main block of Hohenzollern lands; Austria sought a great increase in territory, which should serve as consolation for the loss of Silesia, seized by Frederick the Great; Russia hesitated between the two roles, that of liberator and defender of the Poles, as a Slav race, and that of a greatly increased state. In the end she pursued the latter end.

The Polish question combines simple and almost insoluble problems of state-making. The nucleus of the new country must be the Polish territories of Russia and of Austria. These are the old Russian Poland and the western half of the Austrian province of Galicia. Combined these territories amount to some 65,000 square miles, with upward of 16,000,000 of people. Within this territory the population is overwhelmingly Polish, and subtracting it from the old Russia and Austrian states would not in any way cripple either.

But having marched this far in the recreation of Poland the difficulties begin, difficulties which have already led to fighting in Lemberg and must arouse profound and lasting hostility in Germany. To take the German aspect first: All along the eastern marches of the German Empire, in the provinces of Posen, East and West Prussia and Silesia, German and Polish populations are inextricably mixed. In Posen the Polish majority is enormous; in Upper Silesia the same thing is true; in West Prussia the Polish districts extend like a long arm from the Russian frontier straight to the Baltic at Danzig, while in East Prussia the German element prevails north of the Mazurian lakes.

To restore to Poland her old provinces of Posen and West Prussia would isolate the Germans of East Prussia from the main German population; it would erect a hostile state with frontiers little more than a hundred miles from Berlin; it would thus mutilate Prussia territorially. In addition it would mean the ultimate absorption into Poland of the Germans of the East Prussian districts. In addition, the cession to the new Poland of the Upper Silesian regions inhabited by Poles mainly, would deprive Germany of a great industrial region at the precise moment her other great mineral region was passing to France by the cession of Alsace-Lorraine.

The Polish-German situation, therefore, is this: Either some 20,000,000 of Poles must be deprived of an outlet upon the sea and placed in permanent economic subjection to the Germans, or Germany must surrender a really huge area in which the majority of the population, taken as a whole, is undoubtedly Polish, but in which there are two or three millions of Germans.

What the just solution of the problem is no man can mistake. Twenty millions of Poles are entitled to independent existence. All the German territories to be reclaimed were once Polish. A considerable fraction of the German population in them represents the colonization of Germany, colonization designed to evict the Poles from their own lands and accomplish the final stage in the destruction of Poland as a political fact. This plan has failed, Poland is to be recreated, and no just settlement is possible which does not give to the Poles Danzig and a sea front on the Baltic, Posen and Upper Silesia. Nor is it conceivable that East Prussia will be left outside the Polish frontiers, thus constituting a source for new conflicts. At best this German population might be assured a certain measure of autonomy.

But the Polish difficulties do not end with the disposal of the German difficulties. All around the fringe of the clearly Polish territories are regions containing many Poles, having Polish traditions, since they were once a part of Poland and now claimed by the Poles. These regions include the Ruthenian districts in Austrian Galicia, with Lemberg as a center. In these regions the Ruthenians outnumber the Poles, but Lemberg is a thoroughly Polish city. The quarrel between the Poles and Ruthenians for the possession of Lemberg, now in Polish hands, led to the recent fighting in Eastern Galicia.

In addition Poles and Lithuanians are inextricably mixed in the old Russian districts of Vilna and Grodno, in which the city populations are still Polish. Lithuania was once joined to the Polish monarchy, not exactly as a subject state, but as an associate, since the most famous Polish dynasty was Lithuanian. It is the Polish dream to restore this federation, but there is little enthusiasm on the part of the Lithuanians. Finally, due east beyond the Bug River is a vast region, extending to Minsk, which was once Polish, but is peopled by Russians, not Poles; this region the Poles also hope to include in their new state.—Copyright Dispatch.

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MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO "FREE POLAND"

Press Comment on Polish Affairs Gleaned From American Newspapers

POLAND NEXT?

The recognition of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs in the reply to Austria has encouraged Polish hopes that Poland may be next. A petition to this end has been sent to the President by Ignace Paderewski, acting for the Polish National Committee in Paris and American sympathizers at a recent meeting in New York. President Wilson's fourteen points, it will be recalled, contained a demand that "an independent Polish State be erected, which should include the territory inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant."

The demand on Austria regarding Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia was opportunely made, following Austria's own proposals. The Polish issue has presumably been postponed because it involves both Austria and Germany, each of which holds in subjection provinces belonging to Poland and inhabited by indisputably Polish populations. When the time comes, no doubt the President will make good his demand. Meanwhile there is a Polish army fighting in France alongside the Allies and steps are now being taken for the creation of a Polish army in Russia. It has been estimated that in the old Russian army there were approximately 600,000 Polish soldiers. About the time the Russian army was breaking up a suggestion was made that the Allies might aid these Polish divisions as they have since aided the Czecho-Slovaks, but nothing came of it. One Polish army was disbanded; another, upon being disrupted, largely joined the Czecho-Slovaks, and a third escaped toward Siberia. It is now proposed to rehabilitate the Polish elements in Siberia, a beginning having been attempted at Harbin, with the expectation that a force, perhaps larger than the Czecho-Slovak force there, can be put into the field. The Poles are insistent that their purpose is not to wage war on the Russians, but to get to the Eastern front, where they may be in position to fight for the independence of their own country. The need for a strong Polish State on the lines stated by the President, as a barrier to German penetration eastward, is clearly understood. Its establishment by Allied aid as the northern and southern Slavs in Austria-Hungary are being assisted, is a logical consequence.—Pittsburgh (Pa.) *Dispatch*.

RECOGNIZE THE POLISH FIGHTERS

Month by month the ranks of Germany's enemies are increased, and the latest armed resistance she must meet is that of a proposed Polish division which is being organized to fight in Siberia westward to their oppressed fatherland as a part of the American army.

Polish officers, who are forming this body of troops, assert that an army of more than 100,000 will be immediately available and that it will not have to be trained but will consist wholly of trained soldiers.

So long as Germany has her stronghold in the East, so long will it be difficult to force her full capitulation. The United States, notwithstanding the gravity of the Russian situation, has decided to devote virtually all its effort to the Western Front and has sent to the East only a force, trivial in numbers. The Allies have sent larger armies, but not large enough to bring victory unaided.

The Czecho-Slovaks have done valiant work there and have won the formal recognition of the Allies and the United States. The Poles promise aid even more weighty than that of the Czecho-Slovaks, and they also ask the same recognition. It is to be hoped that it will not be withheld. Through these independent military enterprises may eventually come the solution of the whole Eastern problem.—Binghamton (N. Y.) *Herald*.

RECOGNITION OF POLAND

Secretary Lansing's letter to Roman Dmowski, president of the Polish National Committee, recognizing his committee and the Polish army as "autonomous, allied and co-belligerent," is a final step in indorsing the plans for re-establishing an independent Polish state. This Government has long been on record as favoring a free Poland. Since a Polish army has been created and a temporary government organized the claims of the Poles for recognition are identical with those of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs.

President Wilson has gone farther than most Allied statesmen in his declarations regarding Poland. He is on record as favoring an independent Polish state, "which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant." This means that Polish territory held by Germany and Austria-Hungary, as well as that formerly held by old Russia as a result of the two iniquitous partitionings of the old kingdom of Poland, must constitute the new state.

"Free and secure access to the sea" means that Danzig must be given up by Germany, although there is indisputable Prussian territory farther up the Baltic. It is not generally known that M. Dmowski is at present interested in the formation of a Baltic league of small nations to include Sweden and Denmark as well as Poland, Finland, Lithuania and possibly Esthonia, the objects of which are to secure freedom of the Baltic from German domination. The Baltic is now a German lake, and some such league is essential to guarantee the interests of the Baltic nations left at the mercy of Germany by Russia's loss of naval power in the Baltic. This is really the most important thing in connection with the establishment of a free Poland. Once access to the sea is assured, an independent Poland is the best guarantee that Germany will not complete the conquest of Russia after peace is declared.

But beyond that the creation of a free Poland means the righting of an age-long wrong to a noble race.—*Brooklyn (N. Y.) Eagle.*

POPE BENEDICT ON POLAND

Pope Benedict has written an Apostolic letter to Dr. A. Kahowski, Archbishop of Warsaw, in which he says that in the grave period through which Europe is passing he cannot resist the impulse to show his affection for the Polish nation with words of comfort and hope. He adds:

"History has written in golden letters what Christianity and European civilization owe to Poland, but also records how badly she has been rewarded. After centuries of repression Poland lives as ever.

"The Pope recalls the attachment of the Church to Poland in the nation's darkest days, as well as at the zenith of her glory. Pope Clement XIV, energetically protested to the powers against the dismembering of Poland, as did several of his successors. The documents in the Vatican archives relating to Poland, which are to be published soon," says the Pontiff, "will show the almost indescribable martyrdom of the Polish nation.

"But, thanks be to God," the Pope continues, "the dawn of resurrection for Poland is finally breaking. We raise our most ardent prayers that, soon having regained her full independence, she may again take her place in the comity of nations, continuing her history as a civilized Christian nation.

"Contemporaneously we wish that all other nationalities, even if non-Catholic, that were once subject to Russia may decide their own fate, developing and prospering in their confidence and love for Poland."

Poland, it will be remembered, was devastated by German armies. Not a factory chimney was left standing. Every piece of machinery that the Germans could lay their hands on was sent to Germany or smashed to bits. Even water power plants were destroyed and Polish skilled workmen were deported and scattered as widely as possible. The purpose of this was to destroy Poland's economic power, prevent her industries from competing with those of Germany after the war, and to render the people so economically dependent upon Germany that they would more readily accept German rule. That was the German reasoning. The German believes that if you crush a people hard enough you can make them trade with you.

But there is some reason to believe that the Germans had their eyes opened in Poland. The Poles don't like Russia, they don't like Austria, but the feeling they have towards Germany since the ruthless wasting of their country by German armies is not to be described by comparison with their dislike of their other oppressors. They have set themselves like flint against the Germans and all things German, and so bitter and intense is the national feeling that even the Germans who confidently expected to see these methods of ruthlessness turn the Poles into loving allies now realize they have made them eternal enemies instead.—*Kansas City (Mo.) Star.*

NEWS NOTES FROM POLAND

Warsaw, via Vienna (By the Associated Press)—The government of Poland should be recognized by all the allied powers in order to deal properly with the situation in Poland, Gen. Joseph Pilsudski, the military head of the present government, told the correspondent today.

"The government now is in a period of transition," he said. "A permanent government will be established after the January elections to the diet.

"I am neither a Socialist nor a Bolshevik, but a Democrat. I think the Bolshevik danger is imminent in Poland unless we are able to put up a fence against the Russian influence.

"Let me first say how happy I am that there is a united Poland. Our independence is due entirely to the Allies, otherwise it would always have been a fiction.

"We need an army to avoid the danger of civil war and to guarantee the frontiers against Bolshevik agents or the infiltration of German troops, particularly those from the army of General Hoffman. These factors constitute a menace unless we get help from the Allies in the form of arms.

"The Germans are inciting antagonistic elements in Lithuania and are creating trouble in Posen (German Poland). Their troops of occupation in Poland are taking an offensive attitude toward the population with the result that I have been compelled to send troops to various places.

"It is necessary that our government be recognized by the Allies. At present there are certain difficulties. The Polish committee in Paris represents parties not in accord with the others here, but this internal matter is being arranged. Personally I desire a compromise."

London.—An official declaration by the provisional Polish government, of which Andrew Moraczewski is President of the Ministry, and General Pilsudski, Commander-in-Chief, has been received.

It gives the basis on which the temporary government body will be elected by a free and secret ballot—January 21. Both men and women will vote. There will be no discrimination against voters or candidates over their creed. The declaration says all except educational titles by degrees are to be abolished immediately. No nobility or title of royalty is to be recognized.

The declaration announces the immediate establishment for all the people of free secular public schools with compulsory education. Other arrangements made are these:

Equality of all citizens regarding creed, occupation or wealth in citizenship; the equitable solution of the agricultural land problem by limiting the maximum amount of land which can be owned by an individual and by popularizing the ownership of land; local self-government in municipalities and other district governmental ownership or control of natural necessities, and the democratization of all institutions uniformly throughout the entire country.

The declaration also announces special privileges for none but equal rights for all; freedom of conscience, worship, speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, unions and organizations; an eight-hour working day

in all branches of commerce, trade and industry; government ownership but not confiscation, especially of mines, oil fields and transportation mediums; the checking at once of food profiteering and usury; the protection of children under a proper law; a uniform judicial system.

Paris.—On the Russian subject I consulted Russia's next-door neighbor, Poland, represented here by a Polish national committee. Napoleon once said Poland was the key to the European treasure vault, and Prince Buelow called her the bridge on which Russia and Germany could ever continue to meet. Those statements were never truer than today, nor graver.

Poland's redemption alone is a vast and necessary undertaking that will quickly show concrete results in three distinct vital phases.

First, early organization of the ground work for a Polish republic, which, protagonists here assert, must be buttressed as strongly on Germany's east as France is on Germany's west. That state will have an area little less than France and a population of thirty millions. It is unequivocally declared that the government will be an exact replica of that of the United States.

Second, it will prove a most effective barrier against Bolshevism sweeping into Germany. The gradual withdrawal of German troops now taking place under the armistice gives the Bolsheviki an ever-widening freedom of movement. They are closely following the retreating Huns and are planting destructive seeds in the regained soil, a portion of which, known as "White Russia," is now experiencing this reckless intrusion. A successful Polish state will constitute an impassable lake that will halt the forest fire.

Third, it will add vital—and perhaps the deciding—pressure and influence to that being exerted by the Allies on all sides of Russia in an effort to stifle the "Reds." A well-organized Polish army, with accurate allied naval gunfire along the Estonian coast and allied military concentrations on the northeast and south, should speedily silence the terrorists. Likewise, it is believed, the moral effect of a stable Polish government may bring the Russian to his senses and to an appreciation of the Entente's intentions.

British writers are concerning themselves with how Mr. Wilson's pledge of free and secure access to the sea will be interpreted for Poland, as the outlet down the Vistula implies Polish possession of Danzig. Then the point is raised that the self-determination promise will be violated because only ten per cent of the population is Polish. One writer dryly remarks that success in settling the sea access question will depend really upon the statesmanship of the lineal descendants of the Committee on Navigation of Rivers at the Vienna Congress.

But where the world's fate hangs in the balance pending the reinvigoration of two diseased nations, whose proximity only breeds more bacilli for further international ailments, it is safe to assume that the doctors now gathered around the Paris clinic won't hesitate to perform such a comparatively slight operation as may effect a permanent cure. Poland is the pulse of intricate and delicate Eastern Europe and Paris is confident its steadier beat will soon be plainly discernible.—Trueman H. Talley, New York *Herald*.

ALLIES' FLAGS FLY OVER LEMBERG

Announcement that the American, French and British flags now fly with the Polish flag over Lemberg, in Polish Galicia, was received with deep gratification by representatives of the Polish national organization in Washington.

Arrival of Polish boys from the United States in Poland will be a godsend, in the opinion of John F. Smulski, of Chicago, who, in the absence of Ignace Paderewski, represents in the United States the Polish National Committee at Paris.

"These boys," said Mr. Smulski, who was interviewed by the *Washington Star*, "the great majority of whom have been recruited in the United States, will aid not only Poland, but the peace of the world. They will arrive in the motherland, ready to do and serve; they will be a tangible evidence to a distressed, and at times hopeless people, of the real interest of America—yes, and of the world—in their cause.

"The American delegation will be a great quieting corps. They are picked boys; they have lived the American life; they know the best ideals of the United States. They appreciate, first of all, the idealism, the purity, the sincerity of the American desires in this war, and before their strong dominant Americanism, even though it is displayed under the white eagle of Poland, the fogs and mists of misrepresentations will vanish.

"The Poles sent from America, serving in the Polish army, are all volunteers. They are men who left the steel mills, the office desks, their professional and technical duties for the purpose of forwarding the plans of President Wilson and helping to make the world free. They speak the language of those whom they meet, and they wear the Polish cap, which is dear to all hearts.

"They will not be obliged to make war; they will not be obliged to fire a single shot. The message which they will take into Poland will be one of comfort, of cheer, and from their presence we expect to see a great wave of courage spread out, not only through Poland, but through the neighboring lands. They will be missionaries of the best sort, stabilizing agents for real world peace.

"My satisfaction is equally pronounced over the news from Lemberg that the Stars and Stripes, the French tri-color and the British Union Jack have been raised with the Polish white eagle over the town hall.

"Men who raise the Stars and Stripes with the Polish flag are not men who assist or promote pogroms against the Jews, which the German propagandists have been for some weeks attempting to charge in America.

"No man would dare to make such a display, and in this act of veneration, yes, and of loyalty, I feel that the Poles in Lemberg have given a definite answer to those who are seeking to prevent the fulfillment of President Wilson's declaration in favor of a united and independent Poland.

"Their selection of banners with which to mark their possession of the city settles once and for all that the Poles, as ever, are following their western cultural leanings. The red flag is never borne by Polish hands."

By Gertrude Atherton

(Copyrighted Dispatch in New York Times.)

The wonderful national spirit of Poland is in danger of being swamped by atrocious sufferings and endless misfortunes. If the Bolshevik plague obtains an entrance it will spread like Spanish influenza, for there is no more infectious germs than anarchy and revolution among despairing men. And if that great and augmenting army of Bolsheviks sweeps across Poland it will enter both the central empires and Italy, and then there will be chaos for more years than we shall live to see.

Only a strong, united buffer state like Poland can avert this tragedy. If we make her strong enough to hold the Bolsheviks on the one hand, and Germany on the other, the world may look forward to a long period of peace, but not otherwise. Germany has little coal of her own. The great mines are in Poland, just as her great iron mines were in Lorraine. Deprived of coal and iron, no country can dominate.

It is not a sentimental question, but economic. It may interest us to look forward to the restoration of Poland because she occupies a romantic place in history, but it should interest us much more to save ourselves from a choice between domination by bloodthirsty anarchists and greedy and cruel Germans. Technically, Poland is at peace with Germany.